/177 cont./

the wife is always responsible for the food. Men do not cook. Old, solitary persons or unmarried girls or men live with relatives or friends, but never alone, since a single person is unable either to protect himself or to provide for himself adequately.

The father's authority is great. Wife and children owe him absolute obedience. Nevertheless, the man does not have the right to alienate personal articles of members of the family or possessions that they made themselves. Thus, for example, he is not in a position to sell a coca bag or a fiber bag belonging to his wife or his children's toys.

The children are given the family name of the father, but the women keep their maiden names even after marriage. There is no external indication in dress or hair style or otherwise for unmarried girls and married women. The wife is obligated to work for her husband and children in her family. Beyond that she may procure personal belongings for herself by weaving cloth beyond the needs of her family, for example, and trading it for ornaments.

If the young people are still living in the house with their parents, the daughter-in-law is not absolutely subordinate to her mother-in-law, although this appears to be so, to judge from the speech at the wedding ceremony. A relationship of dependence is out of the question because of the separate kitchens. Usually, however, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are on good terms, and then it is not uncommon for only one woman to cook for both families, for there is no in-law avoidance. Then the two women share the work of cleaning the house.

Conjugal fidelity is demanded of both marriage partners; in the case of the man, however, it is sometimes not taken so seriously. If a man surprises his wife, however, or she her husband, in marital infidelity, the deceived party may beat (but not kill) both and report them to the cabildo, which again has the guilty party very soundly thrashed.

Illegitimate children are not rare among the Paez. In case an unmarried girl has a child, she is beaten by her parents and

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b) Maturity

881 Today no rites or ceremonies for the youths take place any [178] more. In former times they were led to the sacred lagoon of Juan [778] Tama or to the heights of Cuetando, and there they had to build a hut and lay out a small cornfield as proof of their capabilities as a man and father of a household (Hernandez, 1944, p. 203).

[582] A girl comes of age with puberty, that is to say, she may [836] marry. Before that and before marriage, intercourse is not per- [535] mitted. On the occasion of the first menstruation in former times a special dance was performed (itsa-kó), during which the young girl was bathed naked in chicha in a pit outside the festival house 881 (Castillo i Orosco, p. 85). Today this no longer takes place; 285 rather, a girl, when she goes to the dúyat for the first time at 787 about 15 years of age, takes along agave fibers and during the [178] approximately five days that she stays there plaits a very pretty, [2627] small fiber bag (yáhaleckwe) about the size of a fist. There are no additional food prohibitions or similar things. After that she goes to a distant river to bathe. On the way there she lets the bag fall. A married man passing by lets it lie, for he knows that it belongs to a young girl. A young man, however, who happens to be coming that way sees the beautifully worked bag, picks it up, and uses it as a small money-bag. Without knowing who made the little bag, he will -- people are convinced -- marry this girl.

/190/ c) Marriage

595 The present form of marriage of the Paez is monogamy. 114 H. Pittier de Fábrega (p. 314), however, concludes from their traditions that the Paez were formerly polygamous and were converted to monogamy only through education on the part of the missionaries. I could find no clue in their mythology for actual 595 polygamy in former times. The social structure and way of life 591 of the Paez, however, prohibits living alone for unmarried girls. [589] In case they have no relatives or do not find lodging in the house of relatives, another man takes them into his family. The girl

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585 those of my husband, and you are not to say bad words either to your husband or to us!

The wedding celebration is as brilliant as possible, which means entertaining the guests lavishly as long as possible. In some families the celebration goes on for more than a week.

[535] [177] There is no dancing in Calderas, but in other Paez villages Colombian folk dances, usually the open bambuco, are danced.

586 A dissolution of the marriage through divorce is said not to occur even among the non-Christian Paez. Also there is no separation of married people, since man and wife are dependent on each

[837] [848] other for economic reasons. Yet it not infrequently happens -- as reported above -- that married men have children outside their marriage with other unmarried girls.

587 In case of the death of one partner, the surviving spouse may remarry. But whereas for the first marriage he merely could not marry a partner of the same name, in the second marriage he also may not marry a partner bearing the name of the deceased. Thus, for example, Juán Piñakué, who in his first marriage was wed to Ascensiona Kiskué, may not marry a Kiskué a second time.

●589 /195/ Widowers continue to live in their houses and, if the children are not yet grown, usually marry a second time; other-

591 wise they live in the house of one of their grown sons. Widows, if

[587] they are older, usually do not marry again. With their children they go back to where they came from, namely, the house of their parents. If the latter are no longer living, they have the right, for the time being, to live in the house of whichever brother happens to be living at the time in the house of the deceased father. If the house is no longer standing, the widow lives with one of her brothers or with other relatives. In any case, she cannot, as a woman, live alone in a house, but always only in one belonging to a man.

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Associated with the nuclear family primordially are the functions of reproduction, the rearing of children, and the education of the latter. On procreation depends also the importance of economic functions.

The orientation of the sexual instinct is a secondary end. Indeed, Páez culture demands that every individual form a family, once he has acquired the capacity for procreation. In the parcialidad of Calderas they look upon children as a blessing from God, regarding celibates "como violadores de la cruz" /as violators of the cross/(marriage); celibacy is condemned, in the rationalization that the person who dies celibate goes to the Nevado del Huila, considered by them as hell. The celibacy of a woman is exceptional, and when it occurs they believe that she becomes a witch. They think something similar about some widows. One woman of some fifty years of age says that "marriage is fundamental and obligatory, for the grandfathers used to say that to a woman who is not married the devil gives a black dog for a husband in hell" (7). Another woman declared

7. They regarded white dogs as companions and guides in the future life and fear that "if molested they will come out and bite them at the entrance to the future abode."

that at times she feels sorrow for the death of an unmarried daughter, "because the devil would give her a husband."

The culture considers it an obligation of parents to marry off their daughters even if they are very young. Furthermore the young men aspire to "build their house, marry, produce children, have animals, coca in abundance, and sugar cane for their chicha" (8). The incentive to marry is to have children,

8. Bernal Villa, S. 1953, op. cit., p. 183.

for which purpose it is necessary to have assurance /180/ that the woman is fecund.